

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-07
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USIA-06 IO-13 ACDA-12 TRSE-00 OES-07 DLOS-09 EB-08
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R 231601Z JAN 78
FM USMISSION USBERLIN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6088
AMEMBASSY BONN
INFO AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY PARIS
USMISSION USNATO

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 USBERLIN 0174

USEEC ALSO FOR AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PGOV, BQG, AKB, EEC
SUBJECT: REPLY TO SOVIET PROTEST ON BERLIN REPRESENTATION IN EURO-
PEAN PARLIAMENT

REF: (A) BRUSSELS 1141, (B) STATE 9381, (C) BONN 201, (D) 77 BONN
20736, E) 77 STATE 285233, (D) 77 BONN 19465

SUMMARY: ON 19 JANUARY CHAIRMAN POLAD DELIVERED AGREED ALLIED
RESPONSE. SOVIET MINISTER GAVE LENGTHY ORAL REJOINDER AND RE-
ITERATED SOVIET CONCERN WITH PARTICIPATION OF BERLIN IN EC
POLITICAL INTEGRATION, IN PARTICULAR, THAT SOVIETS WOULD REGARD
INVOLVEMENT OF BERLIN IN DIRECT ELECTIONS TO EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT
AS A UNILATERAL REVISION OF THE EXISTING SITUATION. END SUMMARY.

1. ON 19 JANUARY CHAIRMAN (BRITISH) POLAD, GLADSTONE, DELIVERED
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TO SOVIET MINISTER KHOTULEV AGREED ALLIED REPLY TO SOVIET PROTEST
ON BERLIN PARTICIPATION IN DIRECT ELECTIONS TO EUROPEAN
PARLIAMENT. KHOTULEV REMARKED THAT ALLIED RESPONSE
WAS LONG AND SERIOUS STATEMENT REQUIRING STUDY; HE WENT
ON TO OFFER FOLLOWING PREMINARY OBSERVATIONS:
(A) HE DOUBTED WHETHER HIS AMBASSADOR WOULD FIND THE
REPLY SATISFACTORY. IT DID NOT ADDRESS ANY OF THE

POINTS IN THE SOVIET STATEMENT, BUT SIMPLY AFFIRMED THE POSITION OF THE WESTERN SIDE WHICH HAD ALWAYS CAUSED DISSATISFACTION TO THE SOVIETS AND AGAINST WHICH THEIR STATEMENT HAD BEEN DIRECTED.

(B) THE SOVIETS HAD ALWAYS TAKEN VERY SERIOUSLY THE FACT THAT THE ALLIES WERE TRYING TO INVOLVE WEST BERLIN IN THE PROCESS OF DIRECT (SIC) ELECTIONS. THIS REPRESENTED AN OBVIOUS ATTEMPT TO CHANGE THE EXISTING SITUATION AND THE POLITICAL STATUS OF THE WESTERN SECTORS OF BERLIN (WSB).

(C) THE ARGUMENTS THE ALLIES HAD ADDUCED WERE PURELY FORMAL AND JURIDICAL. THE ALLIED POSITION AMOUNTED TO SAYING THAT THINGS WERE LIKE THIS AND WOULD REMAIN SO. THE SOVIETS COULD TAKE A SIMILAR POSITION, MAINTAINING THAT THEY HAD NOT RECOGNIZED THE EXTENSION OF THE TREATY OF ROME TO BERLIN AND THAT IT COULD NOT APPLY THERE. FOR THAT REASON THEY COULD NOT ACCEPT ALLIED REFERENCE TO QUOTE CONSTITUTIVE AGREEMENTS UNQUOTE. THE REFERENCES IN THE ALLIED REPLY TO THE DESIGNATION OF DEPUTIES WERE PURELY LEGAL ARGUMENTS WHICH QUOTE DID NOT AGREE WITH THE LOGIC OF THE SITUATION UNQUOTE. THE ALLIES MAINTAINED THEY WERE ACTING CORRECTLY, BUT THE SOVIETS HAD NEVER AGREED TO SUCH A FORMULA; THE ALLIES APPEARED TO THINK THAT THEY COULD TAKE TRIPARTITE DECISIONS AND JUSTIFY THEM BY REFERENCE TO QUADRIPARTITE DECISIONS.

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(D) THE SAME CONSIDERATIONS APPLIED TO THE ALLIED STATEMENT ABOUT GREATER BERLIN. THE SOVIET POSITION ON THIS MATTER WAS WELL KNOWN: WHEN THE QUADRIPARTITE AGREEMENT OF 1971 (QA) WAS SIGNED THERE EXISTED THE WSB, WITH WHICH THE QA DEALT AND THE CAPITAL OF THE GDR, OF WHICH THE QA MADE NO MENTION.

2. KHOTULEV THEN WENT ON TO MAKE THE FOLLOWING QUOTE ORAL STATEMENT UNQUOTE, A COPY OF WHICH HE RELUCTANTLY PROVIDED GLADSTONE:

BEGIN TEXT

WE WOULD LIKE TO DRAW YOUR ATTENTION TO REPORTS OF EVENTS THAT ARE TO TAKE PLACE DURING THE PERIOD 24-27 JANUARY OF THIS YEAR. SEVERAL COMMITTEES OF THE SO-CALLED QUOTE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT UNQUOTE ARE TO MEET IN WEST BERLIN IN THIS CONNECTION AND CONSIDER IT NECESSARY TO REMIND YOU OF THE POINT OF VIEW OF THE SOVIET SIDE ONCE AGAIN, NAMELY THAT THE HOLDING OF SUCH EVENTS IS ILLEGAL. THE PLANNED MEASURES CANNOT BE REGARDED OTHERWISE THAN AS A NEW AND CALCULATED

ATTEMPT BY CERTAIN FORCES TO IGNORE THE SPECIAL SITUATION AND THE STATUS OF WEST BERLIN AND TO EXTEND TO THE CITY THE COMPETENCE OF THE ORGANS OF THE WEST EUROPEAN COMMUNITY BLOC. IT IS OBVIOUS THAT SUCH ACTIVITIES OF THE WESTERN SIDE ARE INCOMPATIBLE WITH THE SPIRIT AND LETTER OF THE QA. NOR DO THEY CONTRIBUTE TO THE RELAXATION AND NORMALIZATION OF THIS AREA.

WE EXPECT THAT THE ADMINISTRATIONS OF THE THREE WESTERN POWERS WILL TAKE THE NECESSARY STEPS SO THAT THE ABOVE MENTIONED AND SIMILAR EVENTS WILL NOT TAKE PLACE IN WEST BERLIN. UNQUOTE.

3. KHOTULEV ADDED SOME PERSONAL OBSERVATIONS AFTER
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READING THE PRECEDING TEXT. HE SAID THAT HE HAD NOT

OBJECTED WHEN SINGLE COMMITTEES OF THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT HAD COME TO BERLIN IN THE PAST. HOWEVER, IN THE FOLLOWING WEEK NO FEWER THAN THREE WERE COMING, INVOLVING SOME 100 PEOPLE. THE SOVIETS COULD NOT DISREGARD THIS ACTIVITY AND MUST TAKE APPROPRIATE ACTION. WHAT WAS THE AIM OF THESE COMMITTEES? WHAT CONNECTION DID THEY HAVE WITH BERLIN/FRG TIES? THEY WERE PURELY WESTERN DEMONSTRATIONS AND COULD NOT BE REGARDED OTHERWISE. WHO WANTED THESE DEVELOPMENTS? IT APPEARED THAT CERTAIN AUTHORITIES WERE INTERESTED IN MAKING TROUBLE AROUND BERLIN.

4. IN REPLY, GLADSTONE SAID HE REGRETTED THAT WHAT THE WESTERN SIDE REGARDED AS A NATURAL AND DESIRABLE DEVELOPMENT APPEARED TO BE REGARDED BY THE SOVIET AUTH-
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ORITIES AS JUST THE OPPOSITE. HE ASSURED KHOTULEV THAT THE COMMITTEE MEETINGS THE FOLLOWING WEEK DID NOT REPRESENT A WESTERN ATTEMPT TO STIR UP TROUBLE IN BERLIN. DECISIONS BY PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEES TO MEET IN BERLIN, OR ELSEWHERE, WERE NOT TAKEN BY OR EVEN REFERRED TO, GOVERNMENTS. NEVERTHELESS, SPEAKING PERSONALLY HE THOUGHT THAT SUCH MEETINGS WERE ENTIRELY IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE SPIRIT OF THE QA. REFERRING TO KHOTULEV'S EARLIER REMARKS, GLADSTONE RECALLED THAT THE ALLIED POSITION ON THESE MATTERS HAD BEEN SET OUT IN THEIR NOTES DELIVERED IN MOSCOW ON 20 SEPTEMBER 1976 AND 18 APRIL 1977. GLADSTONE WAS SURPRISED TO HEAR THE ALLIES ACCUSED OF SEEKING TO JUSTIFY TRIPARTITE DECISIONS BY REFERENCE TO QUADRIpartite ONES. THE SOVIETS THEMSELVES WERE ALWAYS CLAIMING TO HAVE TAKEN MAJOR UNILATERAL DECISIONS, SUCH AS HANDING OVER THEIR SECTOR TO THE GDR, AND DID NOT EVEN BOTHER TO JUSTIFY THEM. WHEN THE ALLIES ACTED TRIPARTITELY THEY DID SO WITHIN THE AGREED QUADRIpartite FRAMEWORK.

5. KHOTULEV THEN SUMMED UP THE SOVIET POSITION AS FOLLOWS. THEY ATTACHED GREAT IMPORTANCE TO KEEPING THE SITUATION UNCHANGED. THEY OBJECTED TO THE WHOLE BUSINESS OF A BERLIN CONNECTION WITH THE EUROPEAN ELECTIONS BECAUSE TIES BETWEEN WSB AND THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY WERE A NEW ELEMENT. HAD THE SITUATION REMAINED AS BEFORE (I.E. STATUS QUO) THEY WOULD NOT HAVE REACTED SO STRONGLY. AS IT WAS, THE WSB WERE BECOMING QUOTE SUPRANATIONAL UNQUOTE, AS THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT ACQUIRED ECONOMIC, FINANCIAL, PLANNING AND FOREIGN POLICY COORDINATION FUNCTIONS. TO CITE WESTERN SPOKESMEN: QUOTE EUROPE MUST SPEAK WITH ONE VOICE UNQUOTE. HE WISHED TO STRESS THAT SOVIET OPPOSITION WAS NOT TACTICAL

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BUT WAS BASED ON DEEP CONVICTION. HE REQUESTED THE ADMINISTRATIONS OF THE WESTERN POWERS WITH ALL SERIOUSNESS TO LOOK AGAIN AT THE SOVIET STATEMENT OF 3 AUGUST 1976, TO THE EFFECT THAT THEY WOULD REGARD THE INVOLVEMENT OF BERLIN IN DIRECT ELECTIONS TO THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT AS A UNILATERAL REVISION OF THE EXISTING SITUATION WITH ALL RESULTING CONSEQUENCES. IT WOULD BE MOST UNFORTUNATE IF THE WESTERN SIDE WERE TO MISUNDERSTAND WHAT THE RUSSIANS MEANT.

6. COMMENT: KHOTULEV REMARKS CONSTITUTE SINGLE MOST EXTENSIVE SOVIET COMMENT WE HAVE RECEIVED IN BERLIN ON SUBJECT OF BERLIN ROLE IN EC POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT. WHILE WE WOULD REGARD TENOR OF KHOTULEV'S ADDITIONAL REMARKS AS PERSONAL, WE JUDGE THEY ACCURATELY REFLECT SOVIET CONCERN THAT THE WESTERN SECTORS OF BERLIN ARE BEING ASSIMILATED INTO WHAT IT SEES TO BE AN INCREASINGLY, POLITICALLY POWERFUL EC. ADDRESSEES ARE BETTER PLACED TO JUDGE WHETHER THE SOVIET CONCERN ON THIS GENERAL SUBJECT IS PROPERLY FOCUSED ON THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT (EP). WE SUSPECT THAT SOVIETS HAVE CHOSEN THE ISSUE OF EP ELECTIONS VERSUS OTHER EC INCURSIONS INTO THE LIVES OF MEMBER STATES BECAUSE EP SLECTIONS SEEM TO ESTABLISH A MORE ORGANIC LINKAGE, ARE MORE EVIDENT, AND THEREFORE MORE EASILY UNDERSTOOD. THUS, WE BELIEVE THAT AS THE SOVIETS LEARN OF OTHER EC POLITICAL ACTIONS HAVING EFFECT THROUGHOUT THE EC, INCLUDING BERLIN, THEY WILL PROTEST THEM AS WELL.

7. IT IS INTERESTING TO NOTE THAT THE SOVIETS DID NOT MENTION THE PROPOSED 23-27 JANUARY MEETING OF THE EC FISHERIES MINISTERS SCHEDULED FOR BERLIN. WE MUST CONCLUDE THAT EVEN THOUGH, AS REPORTED REFTEL A, THE SCHEDULING OF THIS MEETING HAS ALREADY BEEN REPORTED IN THE BRUSSELS PRESS, THE WORD HAS NOT YET GOTTEN TO THE SOVIETS' BERLIN DESK. SINCE A MAJOR STUMBLING BLOCK TO THE CONCLUSION OF A SOVIET-EC FISHERIES AGREEMENT IS AGREEMENT ON THE BERLIN CLAUSE, WE WILL NOT BE SURPRISED IF THE

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SOVIETS, ONCE THEY HEAR OF IT, SPECIFICALLY PROTEST THE HOLDING OF THIS MEETING IN BERLIN. GEORGE

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 jan 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: DIPLOMATIC PROTESTS, MEETING DELEGATIONS, BERLIN QUADRIPARTITE MATTERS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 23 jan 1978
Decaption Date: 01 jan 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 20 Mar 2014
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1978USBERL00174
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D780034-0047
Format: TEL
From: USBERLIN
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1978/newtext/t19780132/aaaabaru.tel
Line Count: 274
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: 0af324e1-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION EUR
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 5
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: 77 BRUSSELS 1141, 78 STATE 9381, 78 BONN 201, 77 BONN 8
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 19 may 2005
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 3728315
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: REPLY TO SOVIET PROTEST ON BERLIN REPRESENTATION IN EURO- PEAN PARLIAMENT
TAGS: PGOV, UR, WB, GE, BQG, AKB, EEC
To: STATE BONN MULTIPLE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odb://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/0af324e1-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Sheryl P. Walter
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
20 Mar 2014
Markings: Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014